



Instruction and cognition

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When teachers provide instruction to students, they provide opportunities for students to learn information. To be maximally effective, these opportunities should present information in ways that are compatible with the way the mind works. Using a US Department of Education *Practice Guide* as a structure for our review, we review 'second wave' cognitive science research on spaced learning, worked examples, coordinating visual and verbal representations, coordinating and concrete representations, quizzing, delayed Judgment of Learning, and explanatory reasoning. We also contextualize these lines of research within the contemporary K-12 classroom environment and constraints on teachers and school administrators. We close by advocating that all stakeholders in the instructional process also remember 'first wave' cognitive science findings, and also recommend more research on how specific motivational constructs could be brought to bear to encourage students to use these proven but effortful learning principles. © 2012 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

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INTRODUCTION

When teachers provide instruction to students, they provide opportunities for students to learn information. To be maximally effective, these opportunities should present information in ways that are compatible with the way the mind works. Describing how the mind works is the central task of the field of cognitive science. Despite the natural affinity between instructional design and cognitive science, the latter did not have a strong influence on classroom instruction until the 1980s, when lab-based research on constructs such as summarization strategies,¹ schemata,^{2,3} and problem-solving heuristics^{4,5} were picked up by applied researchers and tested in classrooms. These constructs from cognitive science then reached teachers and influenced their classroom instruction, often via the courses and textbooks for initial (i.e., pre-service) teacher training, in workshops for practicing teachers (i.e., in-service training), and in generalist teacher magazines such as *Phi Delta Kappan* or *American Educator* or via more specialized subject-matter magazines. The process of translating even highly consistent findings from cognitive science into

instructional methods that can be robustly applied in instruction is a slow one, even in areas such as reading instruction where such translation is routine. Several reasons have been offered for the slow pace of this translational process: the complexity of classroom environments⁶ (where social dynamics, personal attributes, and institutional features are constantly interacting); the difficulty of determining 'what works, for whom, and under what conditions'⁷ [Institute for Education Sciences (IES), 2012] when moving from controlled laboratory experiments to dynamic classroom settings (which also means moving from volunteer undergraduates who have self-selected into college to younger students who are obliged to attend school),⁶ teachers' tendency to teach the way they were taught,⁸ the tendency for teachers to view cognitive science research as less scientific or useful than so-called 'brain research',⁹ and disincentives for scholars to engage in the work of 'translation'.¹⁰

To give one example, cognitive models of human memory would seem to have simple applications to classroom instruction. Information needs to enter the sensory register, then a working memory system, and finally be encoded into long-term memory. Teachers should use encoding techniques to build students' knowledge. However, classrooms typically include upwards of 20 students, each of whom has stored in memory his or her own knowledge about the

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topic, including misconceptions not known by the teacher, or in some cases idiosyncratic conceptions. A teacher who wishes to understand what students know must deal with constraints of time (schools now face many more demands on their time from non-academic activities, test preparation, and testing itself), student engagement (e.g., a high proportion of non-college bound students still required to attend high school, students more distracted by electronic devices during school time), and required curriculum pacing guides. To move laboratory research on memory to the classroom, therefore, researchers must be sensitive to these time and curriculum constraints and variability in student characteristics. In addition, these principles might be 'translated' via how a teacher delivers a lesson, how a textbook is structured, and/or via a computer-based system such as an intelligent tutor. Consider how difficult it would be for a physician to translate information from anatomy and biology texts directly into knowledge of how to treat patients.

A second generation of instructional methods based on cognitive science is now ready for classroom use, perhaps best summarized by the US Department of Education's IES in a 2007 Practice Guide entitled *Organizing Instruction and Study to Improve Student Learning*.¹¹ This practice guide presents seven principles with strong-to-low levels of evidence for effectiveness: (1) space learning over time, (2) interleave worked example solutions and problem-solving exercises, (3) combine graphics with verbal descriptions, (4) connect and integrate abstract and concrete representations of concepts, (5) use quizzing to promote learning, (6) help students allocate study time efficiently, and (7) help students build explanations by asking and answering deep questions. Below, we review the evidence on which these seven principles were originally based and add more recently published evidence.

RECOMMENDATION 1: SPACE LEARNING OVER TIME

The typical instructional approach suggested by textbooks and pacing guides is to cover a topic, assign, and provide feedback on homework and/or tests about that topic, and move on to the next chapter and topic. Robust findings from more than 100 years of research since Ebbinghaus¹² on spaced learning suggest that frequently revisiting topics improve retention. However, 85% of the studies on spaced learning have been conducted with undergraduate samples.¹³ A few recent studies have focused on classrooms with school-aged children,^{14,15} in early childhood,¹⁶ with longer retention intervals,¹⁷ and the

optimal amount of spacing relative to the time point of testing.¹⁸ Cepeda and colleagues¹³ identified a ratio of test delay-to-interstimulus interval that was optimal for retention; this curvilinear relationship suggests that longer test delays require longer interstimulus interval to produce optimal learning. So instead of encountering the material once for a unit and again for a final exam, students would be more likely to retain material long term if they, for example, encountered the material in brief reviews on a monthly basis. All of the cited studies continue to find a robust effect of spacing. There are several prominent explanations for the effectiveness of spacing, including improved procedural knowledge¹⁹ and interference with forgetting.¹⁸

RECOMMENDATION 2: INTERLEAVE WORKED EXAMPLE SOLUTIONS AND PROBLEM-SOLVING EXERCISES

While textbooks often present solutions, there is a robust literature showing that worked examples showing every step of the solution process are associated with better learning (Figure 1; note that not all worked examples include visual representations, and not all traditional solutions omit visual representations).

Only a small subset of learners can without guidance identify the appropriate procedure, identify the relevant and irrelevant information, and perform correct calculations or apply appropriate inductive or deductive reasoning. The majority of learners benefits from explicit demonstrations of these steps, as shown in research with middle school,^{20,21} high school,²²⁻²⁴ and undergraduate²⁵ students across

Question: How many linear feet of fencing is needed to enclose an area $6' \times 10'$?

Traditional solution:
32 ft. or
Perimeter = $2W + 2L$
 $2L = 32$ ft.

Worked example: Perimeter = $2W + 2L$; $W = 6$, $L = 10$; $2(6) + 2(10) = 32$ ft.

Alternative solution:
Perimeter = $W + L + W + L$;
 $W = 6$, $L = 10$; $6 + 10 + 6 + 10 = 32$ ft.

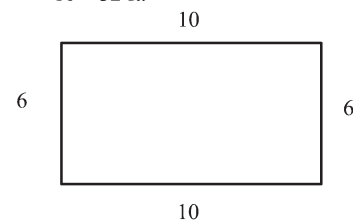


FIGURE 1 | Sample worked example.

multiple academic domains such as chemistry,²⁵ geometry,²⁰ and algebra.²⁴ Furthermore, worked examples can be effective in both individual and small group settings.²⁰ Learners also benefit from having opportunities to practice problem solving very soon after seeing worked examples.^{26,27} However, learners may need a critical level of prior knowledge before they can benefit from worked examples,²⁵ and presenting worked examples in multiple steps and with strategy prompts can lead to better learning.²¹ Worked examples have been under-researched in domains outside of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM), perhaps because STEM problems tend to be well-defined and many are solvable using specific heuristics. In addition, only about 25% of worked example studies have been conducted with school-aged children.

RECOMMENDATION 3: COMBINE GRAPHICS WITH VERBAL DESCRIPTIONS

Like undergraduate textbooks, K-12 textbooks in science, mathematics, history/social studies, and other subjects routinely combine text with graphics such as photographs, line diagrams, tables, graphs, and hybrids of these representations.²⁸ Despite the aphorism that ‘a picture is worth a thousand words’, there are four robust research findings that most instructors are not aware of: (1) experts but not novices know what to pay attention to in the graphics—they know what the main point of the graphic is and know how to use graphic conventions such as captions to identify the main point,²⁹ (2) most learners skip most representations,^{30–32} (3) when learners do look at the representations they do not look at the representations in depth,³³ and (4) when learners do look at representations in depth—either spontaneously³⁰ or when trained^{34,35}—they learn more from the representations. Despite the popular belief among teachers that learner preferences or ‘styles’ should drive the way materials are presented, there is growing evidence that learner preference is irrelevant but learners’ skills (e.g., spatial ability³⁶) do play a role, especially in learning from text without diagrams. Instructors at all levels can directly instruct students in how to combine the verbal information and the discipline-specific graphics they are expected to use in their own learning.³⁷ Instructors should also be attentive to the possibility that a visual representation can create or reinforce a misconception,³⁸ although there has been little systematic psychologically based research on principles for avoiding such pitfalls.

RECOMMENDATION 4: CONNECT AND INTEGRATE ABSTRACT AND CONCRETE REPRESENTATIONS OF CONCEPTS

Abstract concepts such as democracy, fractions, and molecular reactions are often taught using some concrete representation such as a physical model used in hands-on science learning, films, role plays, visuals, or realia used to teach vocabulary and story comprehension to young children.^{39–41} Across a wide range of ages, domains, and skills, the literature supports a balance between concrete representations to help students build understanding and abstract representations to promote transfer. Concrete examples can enable high-quality reasoning⁴² but are simultaneously associated with overly narrow application—learners may take less-central aspects of a concrete example to be central to the principle being instructed.^{43–45} For example, children who solve a word problem involving chairs that uses proportional reasoning can come to believe that all problems involving chairs also use proportional reasoning.⁴⁶ Likewise, physics students who learn about refraction from an example using a rectangular prism show a bias toward the surface pattern of the light ray (bending downwards on entry and then bending upwards on exiting to parallel the angle of entry) when solving a problem with a triangular prism.⁴⁷

At the same time, abstract principles are more difficult to reason with, and until they build up a body of concrete examples, learners may not form a deep understanding of the abstract principle.⁴⁸ The combination of abstract and concrete, together with explicit links between each concrete example and the abstract principle which it instantiates, can lead to optimal learning.⁴⁹ In some circumstances, however, the linking of abstract to concrete can hinder learning—algebra students given function problems with objects that had the same beginning letter as the symbol in the function (e.g., a for apple) showed worse performance than abstract symbols not linked to concrete objects.⁵⁰

RECOMMENDATION 5: USE QUIZZING TO PROMOTE LEARNING

The research evidence for quizzing or other delayed retrieval methods as a way to promote learning is stronger now than when quizzing studies were reviewed for IES (see Refs 51 and 52 for recent reviews). Frequent quizzes are associated with better achievement in middle school history,⁵³ middle school

science,⁵⁴ introductory psychology,⁵⁵ undergraduate statistics,⁵⁶ and non-verbal tasks such as map learning.⁵⁷ Delayed retrieval—i.e., attempting after a delay of typically 1 day to 1 week to recall what was learned—has been found to be more effective than other re-study methods.⁵⁸

In addition to better learning, testing is associated with transfer of skills to uninstructed content.^{53,59,60} Furthermore, despite learners' beliefs that easy learning is a sign of high-quality learning, the *desirable difficulties* hypothesis is supported by a number of studies with middle school⁶¹ and undergraduate⁶² students. Correct retrieval when retrieval is effortful is associated with better memory for studied content.^{62,63} Finally, while testing without feedback is effective, the addition of feedback makes testing even more effective.⁶⁴

A secondary principle from the IES *Practice Guide* is preinstructional quizzes or preinstructional questioning as a means to improve learning. Preinstructional questions appear to activate prior knowledge, encourage students to monitor their level of knowledge, and spark curiosity thereby increasing student effort. The literature on this principle has likewise grown: the prequestioning effect appears to hold with middle school^{65,66} and high school⁶⁶ students learning science.^{65,66} In addition, recent studies with undergraduates continue to support the effectiveness of preinstructional quizzes or preinstructional questioning.^{67–70} These quizzes can also serve as a type of formative assessment teachers can use to adjust their teaching and students can use to adjust their studying and recalibrate their level of understanding.

RECOMMENDATION 6: HELP STUDENTS ALLOCATE STUDY TIME EFFICIENTLY

The *Practice Guide* suggested two principles: (1) teach students how to use *delayed* Judgment of Learning (JOL) to prioritize material for additional studying and (2) give students the opportunity to find out what they need to study by providing feedback on tests and quizzes. JOL pertains to a self-assessment of how well one understands or 'knows' some material, and the *delayed* JOL principle refers to performing such a self-assessment following a delay of typically 1 h to 1 day, rather than immediately after a learning trial. A recent meta-analysis of the *delayed* JOL principle⁷¹ shows that it is robust with children, college-aged, and older samples; the effect size for immediate versus *delayed* JOL is smaller

($g = 0.48$) with children than with college-aged adults ($g = 0.96$). The *delayed* JOL principle contrasts with many students' study habit of checking their level of understanding *immediately* after learning (e.g., reading, studying, hearing a lecture). The illusion of knowing is common immediately after learning but is much reduced after a delay.⁷² Students who think they know material well when they do not, will not study as much or as hard as they should. Recent research suggests that scaffolding in the form of hints during retrieval trials can lead to better retrieval at *delayed* test.⁷³

Feedback is routinely provided by instructors on test and quizzes, but learners may not construe this as information to inform their further study; learners can be fixated on the performance aspect of feedback and ignore the information aspect of feedback. Motivational research on students' mastery goal orientation versus performance goal orientation is informative on this phenomenon.⁷⁴ Learners who see the goal of learning as understanding (mastery goal orientation) tend to use more adaptive study practices than learners who see the goal of learning as either showing high performance (performance-approach goal orientation) or avoiding low performance (performance-avoid goal orientation). Teachers can lower the weight of quizzes to overall grades and give messages that explicitly connect their feedback with the need to re-study certain topics and thereby shift learners' perceptions of assessments as predominantly summative to a more formative view of the purposes of assessment. Little classroom-based research exists on either the *delayed* JOL principle or the informative feedback principle.

RECOMMENDATION 7: HELP STUDENTS BUILD EXPLANATIONS BY ASKING AND ANSWERING DEEP QUESTIONS

Classroom discussion questions, end-of-chapter questions, or homework that ask students to explain *why* an event happened or why a phenomenon occurs can help build an integrated, principled understanding. Unfortunately, most instructional materials focus on literal questions such as 'how many members of Congress does each state have in the House of Representatives and the Senate?' and only a minority of questions in traditional school curricula require explanations, such as 'Why are there different numbers of representatives per state in the House of Representatives and the Senate?' Students benefit from teachers (or software 'agents', e.g., Ref 75) modeling explanatory reasoning. Self-explanation is one

particular approach to fostering explanatory reasoning: it is a multifaceted activity that includes gap-filling inferences, bridging inferences, knowledge elaboration, metacognitive monitoring, and fix-up strategies.⁷⁶ Self-explanations can be spontaneous^{77,78} or prompted by instruction.^{75,79,80} Self-explanation has been studied with many different tasks, such as diagram comprehension,⁷⁹ map reading,⁸¹ math,⁸² reading comprehension of scientific text,⁸³ statistics,⁸⁴ and with participants across a wide range of ages.⁸⁵ In addition to effects on instructed material, self-explanation frequently shows transfer effects.⁸⁶ While the vast majority of self-explanation studies have been conducted with individual students who verbalize their solo self-explanations, Hausmann and colleagues⁸⁷ found that learners in an undergraduate physics course gained more from an explanation intervention when working in dyads compared to learning from solo self-explanation.

Without prompting to explain, learners may fail to detect patterns in material they are studying.⁸⁸ On the other hand, self-explanation produces the greatest benefits on measures of deep conceptual understanding and can lead to less practice in procedures and therefore lower scores on procedural tasks.⁸⁹ In addition, without scaffolding, self-explanation can put a heavy load on working memory, rendering the technique ineffective.^{90,91} Teachers and school systems may justifiably choose to use explanation-based methods to build deep understanding and simultaneously also use ‘first generation’ cognitive principles (e.g., mnemonics, rhyming, speeded practice) to build fluency in procedural skills and/or to build up the basic knowledge base that allows for high-level reasoning.

FIRST WAVE COGNITIVE SCIENCE PRINCIPLES AND MOTIVATION

Beyond these ‘second wave’ cognitive science principles, we feel it is important to not ignore either ‘first wave’ principles (e.g., mnemonics) or student motivation (e.g., self-efficacy) in instruction. The IES *Practice Guide* focuses on a small set of principles to build deep, conceptual knowledge through high-level reasoning. Teachers and school administrators may need to be reminded that in order to reason, students need some knowledge (including vocabulary

knowledge) to reason with.⁴⁹ Well-validated ‘first wave’ cognitive science principles—such as activating prior knowledge, strategy instruction, teaching vocabulary, the efficiency of using direct instruction in some circumstances, and using memory devices to teach the small amount of information that must be memorized—should not be neglected. In addition, the principles in the *Practice Guide* for the most part require more effort on the part of students, and learner motivation may play a larger role with this sort of instruction. Current research in academic achievement motivation treats motivation as a multifaceted and domain-specific construct, with active research on how motivation affects effortful strategy use and reasoning by measuring constructs such as self-efficacy,⁹² epistemological beliefs⁹³ (beliefs about whether learning is simple and straightforward or complex, as well as other beliefs about the nature of knowledge), emotions,⁹⁴ students’ beliefs about the purposes of learning⁹⁵ (to understand versus to obtain high scores or grades: goal orientation), student perceptions of the value or relevance of various topics,⁹⁶ and the motivating power of offering choices⁹⁷ (self-determination theory). Research on these motivational variables in the context of spacing, worked examples, coordinating visual and verbal representations, coordinating abstract and concrete representations, quizzing (especially in the current high stakes testing environment⁹⁸), delayed JOL, feedback, and explanatory reasoning may help these useful techniques reach more students in more classrooms. In addition, there are a variety of findings and theoretical approaches within specific domains (e.g., math learning, science learning, etc.) that can provide additional guidance as to (1) what to expect when teaching students of particular ages and (2) how to design instruction to be more effective that is also thoroughly grounded in the science of mind (see reviews such as Ref 99). In the area of mathematics learning, for example, researchers have made a distinction between procedural knowledge (knowing how to perform certain computations or algorithms) and conceptual knowledge (understanding why these computations must be performed in a specific way and the meaning of symbols). Many studies have shown that children who have more conceptual knowledge (e.g., of fractions) learn procedures more readily and remember these procedures better.¹⁰⁰

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